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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)*—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites.

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enata mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas.

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way:

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!—O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . i!—Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!—May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te heia! u, u, u, u, ... u!—O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

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527 **Mau hei titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the fete (*tuahaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

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certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuio fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunono*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and practically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which